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Making Sense of General Hull's Map of 1812

By Paul Petraitis

1812 was a bad year for Brigadier General William Hull, his seventh as Governor of Michigan Territory. Winter in Detroit was never fun, but 1812 brought with it increased rumors of war, and that meant Hull would be involved. Mail arrived from Washington with greater frequency, and he dreaded what was coming. Sure enough, May found him slogging through dense forests and deep mud in frontier Ohio with a gaggle of undernourished, ill-equipped troops and civilians en route to Canada fighting an as yet undeclared

Distance by water from one river to another as performed by the French navigators of the waters
From Chicagou to the portage 6.
The portage - - - - - 1
From the Portage to the river aux plaines - - - - - - - 9
From the R. de Corps R. 6.
To Lake Mouyfillietta 38
To R. Des page 11.
To the Ford, on the Kankakee 4.
To river au Sable 3
To the Big Messane 6.
To the Little Do 3
To the rapids of Moraeanbo 18
To the Fox, or Des Renards 6.
To the Vermillion - - - - 12
To the Peoria Lake - - - 69
The Lake - - - - - 21
213 miles
R. Illinois
Vermilion R.
R. Des Renards
Rapids of Ma
Lake Michigan
Peoria Lake
R. de Jac
The portage is generally from the Chicagou R to the R. Des plaines
From Chicagou to the Little Villemick is 15 miles - From the Little to the Big Villemick 21 miles
To the Little Fort 12. To the River Du chemin 14.
COPY OF
MAP
OF THE COUNTRY
from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River,
From the papers of Gen. Wm Hull
Govr of Michigan from 1805 to 1812

William Hull, Copy of map of the country from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, from the papers of Gen. Wm. Hull Govr. of Michigan from 1805 to 1812, in Andreas, Alfred Theodore. *History of Chicago: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time: In Three Volumes* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, Publisher, 1884-1886), v. 1, p. 53. Newberry Library Call Number: Ayer 160.9 .A5 1884, v. 1, p. 53.

(and undefined!) war of which he had no desire to be a part.

Hull had been looking forward to retirement, which he planned to spend managing a palatial estate in New England that had belonged to his in-laws. But no, he'd been called back into service by Secretary of War William Eustis, himself freshly appointed by President James Madison. Hull had served valiantly in the American Revolution, and he was already in the history books. Back in 1776, Hull had advised a close friend, an outgoing gentleman soldier named Nathan Hale, to reconsider volunteering to become a spy for the Continental Army. Hale was not the spy type, his fellow Patriots agreed, but he insisted he needed to help the Revolution. Soon after penetrating enemy lines, Hale's espionage was discovered, and he was executed. It was Hull who spread the word to the rest of the world that his friend had met his fate uttering the immortal words, "I regret that I have but one life to give to my country."[1] But the Revolution was ancient history by 1812.

In some ways things hadn't changed much on the military front. Soldiers who disobeyed orders were still flogged (and the Army wondered why enlistments weren't up to quota). Nearly thirty years had passed since the Revolution, and the United States still was not ready for war. As in 1776 there was no regular Army, and the country depended upon local militia units to do battle. The War of 1812 would forever change this. Despite the founding of the new Military Academy at West Point on the Hudson River in 1802, the US distinctly lacked competent, experienced officers to command those militia. So Hull got the call.

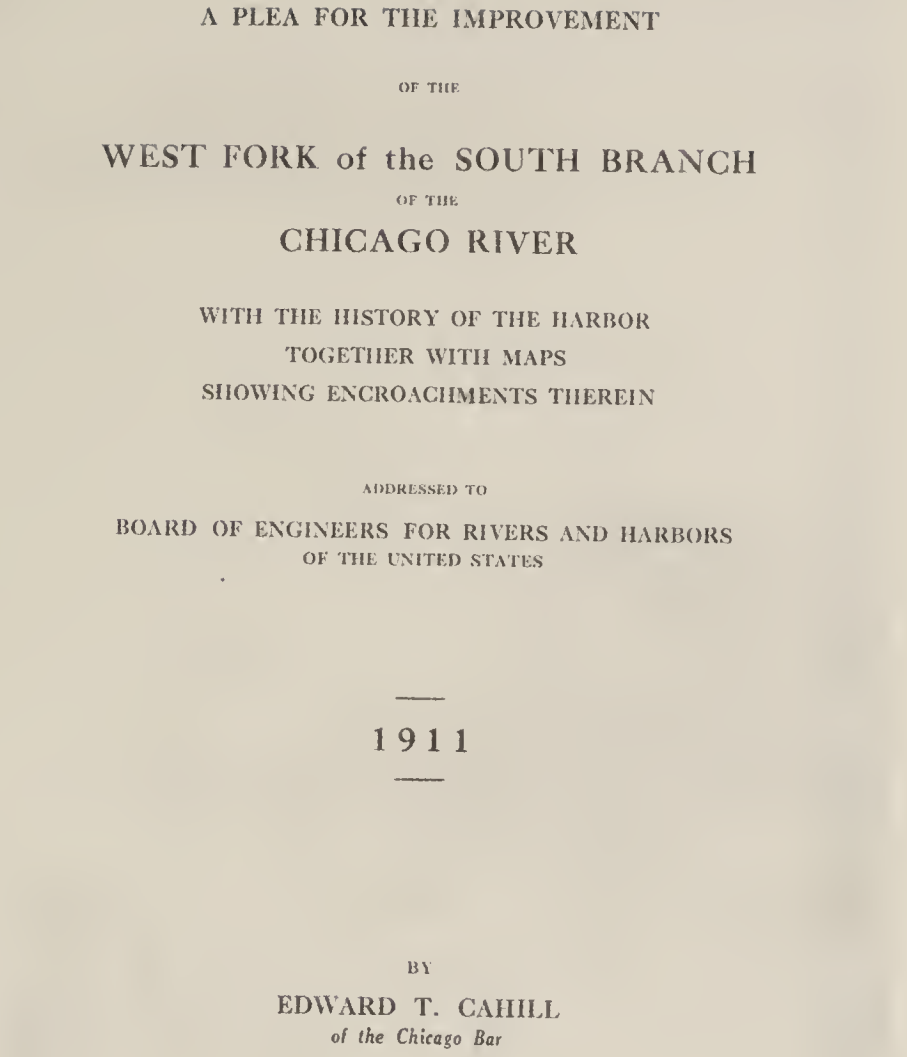
Hull initially demurred, citing his age (He was 59). But when the next available candidate died shortly after agreeing to the post, Secretary Eustis was forced to ask Hull once again to answer the call. The Army had begun to look around for good officer material in the fall of 1811, when it seemed likely that war would break out. In 1812, Andrew Jackson, who would later emerge as a hero of the War, was politically disgraced. So thin on the ground were the qualified that Kentucky Senator Henry Clay was even considered for the General slot, despite having no military experience whatsoever. Hull, a former Revolutionary War hero, was not an ideal candidate either. According to Clay he was a drunk. But he was available.[2] Alternating between having to discipline raw recruits and building corduroy bridges across Ohio swamps, Hull might have been forgiven for thinking he was "getting too old for this nonsense," but it was not his place to question the practicality of capturing Canada. Yes, the plan seemed illogical. Though US settlers outnumbered Canadian, why should they attack a British colony? Just to get back at England? After all, the depredations that set Clay and his congressional "warhawks" on their jingoistic rampage to defend a sense of the country's honor, as if in a frontier duel, had been mostly naval encounters on the Atlantic. But the US barely had a Navy, so after someone cavalierly declared "Canada is ours but for the marching!" this illogical plan apparently became policy.

Secretary Eustis had little experience, an understaffed office, and lacked an adequate budget to wage war, but that did not stop the planners. So here was Hull, marching northward to take Canada. His ragtag militiamen moved slowly in rough terrain and were forced to spend valuable time foraging for food and resources, while constantly stopping to repair their dilapidated guns. By June they made their way to Detroit, by which time Hull's secret plans for the eventual capture of Canada had found their way into the enemy's hands, who quickly made masterful use of the intel. The Canadian forces, led by General Isaac Brock, chose to play on Hull's weaknesses, both tactical (Hull's Kentucky militia had refused to cross over into Canada at the last minute) and personal (Brock knew Hull to be deathly afraid of Indians).[3]

So, despite having superior forces and a strong defensive position, the paranoid and possibly intoxicated Hull began making bad decisions. No sooner had his troops occupied Detroit than the British made sure their Indian allies made a show of force outside. The saber-rattling had its effect. "What will become of the women and children?" he was heard to wail. Left to his own devices, he panicked and hung a sheet out a window as a white flag of surrender. "What are you doing ?!" screamed a woman at the fort, astonished at his cowardice. But it was too late. Hull, who hadn't wanted to return to military life, had succeeded in bungling his way into the history books. History would record that he allowed both Fort Detroit and Fort Mackinac to fall to the enemy in the course of a single summer.[4]

The settlers at Chicago would fare far worse. Hull had sent orders for the garrison at Fort Dearborn to retreat to Fort Wayne in August, long after any window of opportunity for their unescorted safe passage through enemy territory had passed. The civilians and military personnel were ambushed less than an hour into their retreat, and their bones would lay unburied for four years. Fort Wayne was the only fort to survive an Indian attack under Hull's command. By 1814 US Troops had reoccupied Detroit, but by that time Hull had been relieved of his responsibilities and brought up on charges ranging from cowardice to dereliction of duty.[5]

The map, dated 1812 and credited to General Hull, appears to have been put together just before he embarked on that fateful slog through Ohio. It may have been the work of his staff, possibly from the years when he was Governor of Michigan Territory. After April 1812, the month he reluctantly assumed command of "The Army of the West," he'd likely have been too busy to draw it himself.


A PLEA FOR THE IMPROVEMENT

OF THE

WEST FORK of the SOUTH BRANCH

OF THE

CHICAGO RIVER

WITH THE HISTORY OF THE HARBOR
TOGETHER WITH MAPS
SHOWING ENCROACHMENTS THEREIN

ADDRESSED TO

BOARD OF ENGINEERS FOR RIVERS AND HARBORS
OF THE UNITED STATES

1911

BY

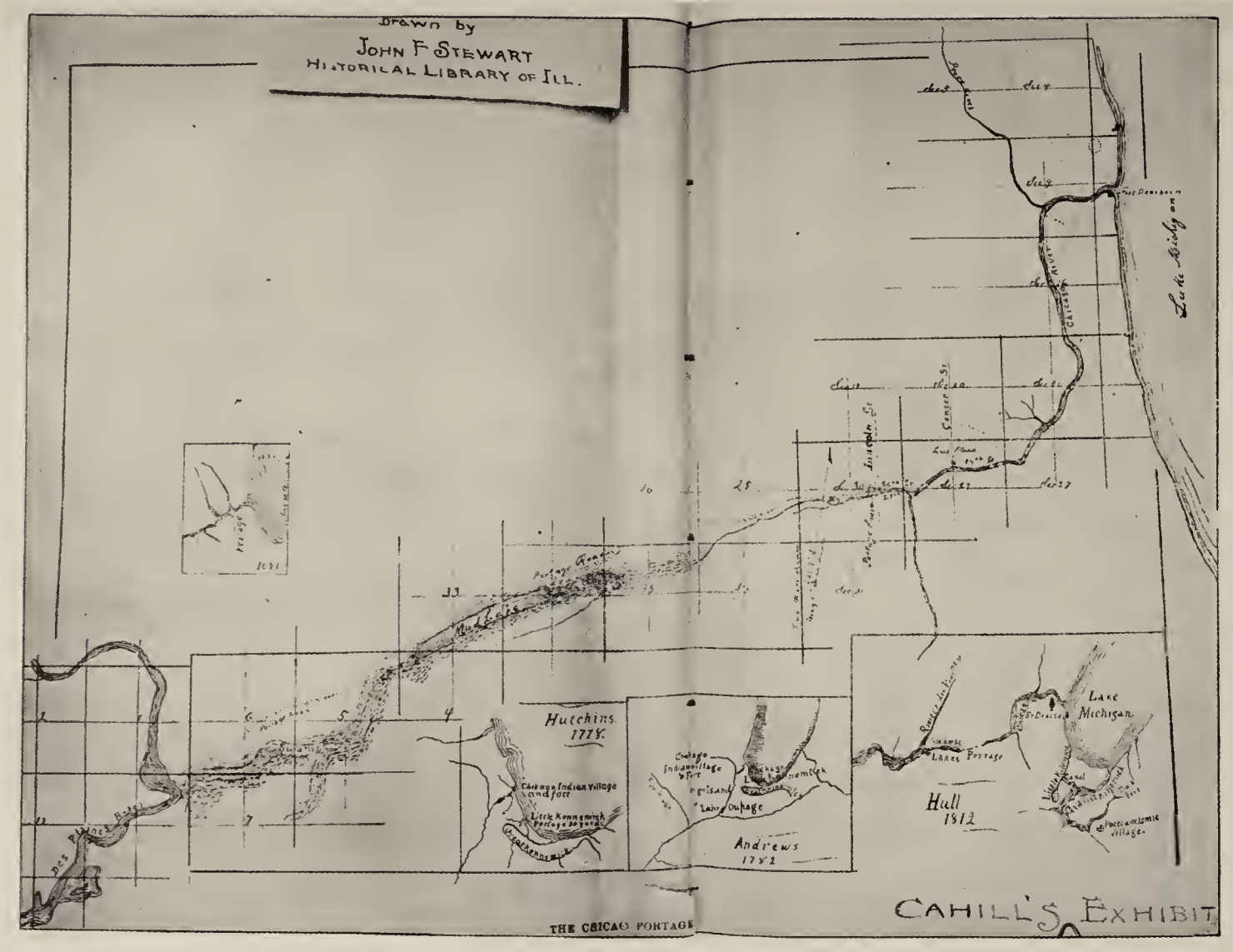
EDWARD T. CAHILL
of the Chicago Bar

Edward T. Cahill, *A Plea for the Improvement of the West Fork of the South Branch of the Chicago River* (Chicago, Printed by Barnard and Miller, 1911). Collection of the Author.

A Plea for the Improvement of the West Fork of the South Branch of the Chicago River

Some maps are like old friends you haven't seen in a while. I was reminded of Hull's map when I attended the Newberry's 2013 Nebenzahl Lectures on the War of 1812 and American Cartography. I was also reminded of the many ways there are to study a map. Two centuries of documented use suggest this enigmatic manuscript map has covered vast and varied ground. The copy reprinted here is from historian and cartographer Alfred Theodore Andreas's landmark History of Chicago, appearing in three volumes between 1884 and 1886. Andreas himself had a varied career; a settler in Iowa in the 1850s, he enlisted in the Union Army and marched through Georgia with General William Tecumseh Sherman. After the war he compiled and published several state and regional atlases and histories, culminating with his grand history of Chicago.[6]

I first saw a copy of this map when I was cataloguing and annotating the massive Alfred F. Scharf Manuscript Collection at the Chicago Historical Society back in the 1970s. Scharf, an amateur archaeologist and historian who had immigrated from Saxony and worked by day as a cigar maker, began working diligently in the 1890s to document traces of Chicago's vanished or quickly disappearing Indigenous towns and trails. I was excited about the map for several reasons, but the main reason was that it seems to have been the first to show the existence of "Chicago's other lake," Lake Calumet. This three mile long "pan" lake had escaped European mapmakers, who had either skirted the Lake Michigan Shore or walked along the Chicago-Vincennes trail as they passed through the region. Hidden by a massive cane break, Lake Calumet could easily have been overlooked, even by those who traveled the nearby Calumet River. Vincenzo Coronelli had very generally included the Grand Calumet River in a map drawn as early as the mid-1690s, but that map didn't show nearby Lake Calumet. Neither did eighteenth-century maps by Guillame DeLisle or Thomas Hutchins. But unlike these well-known maps, Hull's map, despite its unprecedented representation of local waterways, very nearly sunk into obscurity. Indeed, it might have, were it not for its unique hydrographic information.



Edward T. Cahill, *A Plea for the Improvement of the West Fork of the South Branch of the Chicago River* (Chicago, Printed by Barnard and Miller, 1911) p. 6-7. Collection of the Author.

It was fortuitously not long after those Nebenzahl Lectures that geologist Mike Chrystowski dropped off a large box of maps and books on my front porch. Mike and I had been doing research on the geomorphology of the Chicago and Calumet River systems for the last dozen years. He was clearing out his desk at the Illinois Geological Society and stopped by enroute to a new job on the West Coast to bequeath his research notes to me. There were manuscript maps we'd both worked on, copies of archival material, and some unpublished maps that he and I had been working on to show the evolution of the Chicago River. As I began going through this treasure trove I found a fascinating publication from 1911 called *A Plea for the Improvement of the West Fork of the South Branch of the Chicago River*. This hardback 259-page tome was written by attorney Edward T. Cahill, a Chicagoan who lived on Elm Street and turns out to have been a regular reader at the Newberry. His praise for the efforts of Walter L. Newberry are quite generous. He noted that he could not have presented his case in such detail without the archives accessible to him at the late Mr. Newberry's library. *A Plea for the Improvement of the West Fork* was a summary of Cahill's address to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors of the United States. Local railroad interests had presented the case the previous year that the West Branch was "merely a creek" and should be filled in to use for other purposes, like, well, railroads! Cahill launched a slow, cautious argument tearing apart the railroads' claims piece by piece, showing that the West Branch had been, since before the United States even existed, part of a regional water highway that connected the Great Lakes with the Mississippi. The West Branch was therefore federally protected and beyond the reach of any subsequent claims by any other body. Citing Roman law, English common law, and the Northwest Ordinance of 1785, alongside accounts by Jacques Marquette, Louis Joliet, British sources like Thomas Hutchins, and others, he methodically built his case. Imagine my surprise that there between pages 6 and 7, the first of many illustrations in the book, was Hull's map! Cahill included it because the amount of hydrographic detail made the map unique and served the case he was making for the longstanding significance of the West Branch of Chicago River. On the map were distances from points along the river system, points the map noted had been supplied by local French traders.

The map shows the area between the southern end of Lake Michigan and the upper Illinois River Valley as it had appeared on the eve of the War of 1812. Cahill, a mapmaker himself (his detailed map of the entire Chicago shoreline of Lake Michigan presented in the same volume is an impressive bit of cartography) took Hull to task noting that "It is plain that the proportions of

Hull's map outrage the facts, but it nevertheless gives a good general idea, the distances given in figures are approximately correct."[7] What is also fascinating is that Hull's map, like the adjoining maps by Hutchins, John Andrews, and others in Cahill's volume, was drawn by John F. Stewart of the Historical Library of Illinois. Cahill hired noted Chicago photographer George R. Lawrence, of large-format kite photography fame, to produce the images for publication. Lawrence copied Stewart's drawings, maps from the Newberry's collection, while also shooting a fascinating series of views of the Chicago Lakefront that served Cahill's case.

It would appear that someone, possibly Stewart, had found the map among General Hull's papers and attributed it to him. Hull's career as Governor of the Michigan Territory spanned the period 1805-1813, but it was in 1812 that he was given command of the Army of the Northwest and the map was most likely given the same date. But when was it made? And did Hull actually draw it?

The Map and Its Context

William Hull was born in Connecticut in 1757. He graduated from Yale in 1772 and joined the state militia soon after. He served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. Recognized by George Washington, Hull fought in the battles of White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Stillwater, and Saratoga. He retired to his wife's family estate in Newton, Massachusetts at the conclusion of the War. He moved to Detroit when President Thomas Jefferson appointed him Governor and Indian Agent of the newly-created Michigan Territory in 1805. No sooner had he assumed the governorship of the vast territory than rumors began circulating of an Indian confederation that was mobilizing against the loss of their lands to new settlers and the westward-expanding United States. During his term in office US Government Indian policy shifted from a program of assimilation, including classes in Anglo-style farming, to a program of elimination.

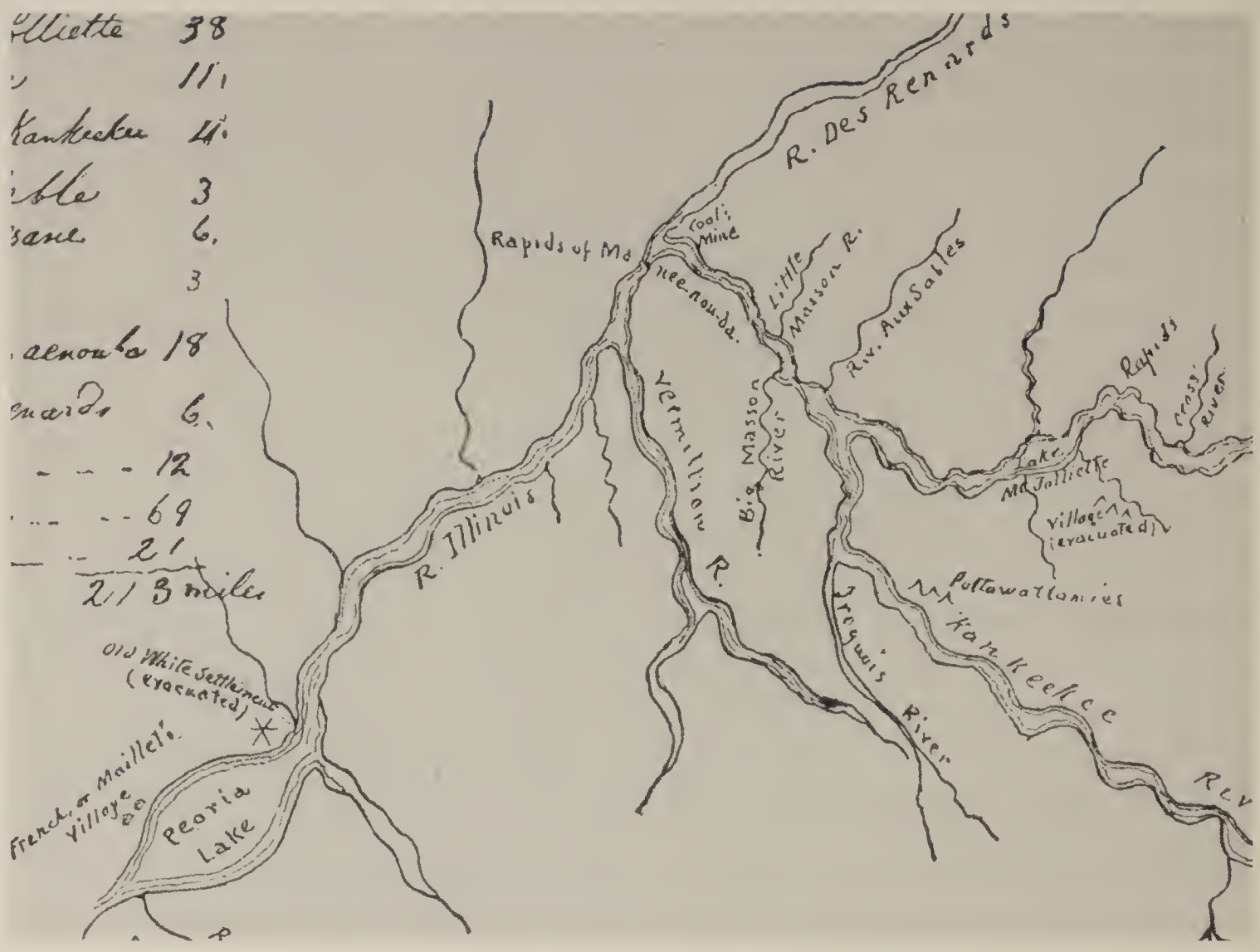
As early as 1802, President Thomas Jefferson saw no place for the Indian in his vision of the "new America." Jefferson, though fascinated by archaeological studies of the so-called "Mound Builders," apparently had no use for the Indigenous North Americans of his own day. He found them either debilitated by drink or otherwise unwilling to give up their traditional economic, cultural, and land use practices. To facilitate the colossal land grab Jefferson envisioned, he encouraged traders to build up tribal debts so that when it became treaty time (the number of land accession treaties during the Jefferson presidency was significant) the government could take Indian land in payment for the outstanding debt.[8] This policy was remarkably effective, especially in midcontinent. Changes in payment of annuities began to split tribal and intertribal bonds. This splintering, combined with the vast quantity of whiskey being consumed on the frontier, made for an increasingly dangerous situation.

This era was not the US Army's finest hour. As military historian Steven J. Rauch writes, "The nation's small Regular Army was a backwater in American Society that did not necessarily attract the finest talent." Lieutenant Colonel Winfield Scott once commented that the older officers available at the time the US declared war on Britain in June of 1812 had "very generally sunk into either sloth, ignorance, or habits of intemperate drinking," while the newer officers from West Point were basically "coarse and ignorant men... swaggerers...decayed gentlemen...utterly unfit for any military purpose whatever."[9] General Hull, his own weaknesses aside, was in a difficult place in a difficult time.

The map emphasizes locations around the southern end of Lake Michigan and along the Upper Illinois River thought to be important or potentially important to US control of the area in or around 1812. Left to right, we have the area around Peoria, the Des Plaines River, the Chicago Portage Route, Fort Dearborn, the Lake Michigan shoreline, the Little Calumet River, and Lake Calumet. The so-called "Indian Canal" also appears here, likely for the first time on a map. The canal is actually a remnant of a colk carved by the floodwaters of a monumental spring freshet that changed the drainage of the Calumet River system, likely in March of 1805.[10] The Grand Calumet River, with its original mouth in what is now Miller Beach, Indiana, as well as the river's main tributaries, west to east, are on the map: Stoney Creek, Thorn Creek, and Deep River. A major Indian community is represented, likely near

what is now Liverpool, Indiana, to where the so-called "Trader Indians" moved after being kicked out of Fort St. Joseph by British forces in 1780, as well as an old French "Little Fort" built somewhere in the Indiana Dunes in the early 1750s.

The map depicts an area on the northwestern fringe of US power and influence at the time, part of what was then still called The Northwest Territory. This remote part of the frontier was over one hundred miles north and west of the nearest US Army post at Fort Wayne, and several hundred miles north of the mainstream of American settlement along the Ohio River Valley. While the Great Lakes had been mapped to some degree by Jesuits, fur traders, and various French, English, German, and Italian authorities, this region remained on the distant periphery of the US imagination when the War began in 1812. It has been generally dated 1812, though it likely depicts "the Indian situation" of the previous year. Because of the different scale of the Calumet portion of the map when compared to the Peoria section, it appears to have been assembled from several sources of information gathered at different times. It is possible that this assembly may have indeed taken place in 1812.



Detail of Hull's *Copy of map of the country from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River.*

But why was it made? This may be the most interesting question of all. Nowhere in the United States was the government's "hold" on the frontier more precarious than here along the Great Lakes. Hull had long been an advocate for the establishment of a Great Lakes Navy, but that had never been a priority of the Jefferson Administration. As Governor, Hull had a lot on his plate. A navy would have helped him cover the vast territory he had been assigned to administrate.

Fort Dearborn, built from 1803 to 1804, was the westernmost US outpost, and was likely the one outpost Hull had never himself visited. He regularly received reports of the area from local traders. But as evidence of growing hostilities with the area's Indigenous inhabitants came to fill reports from the post on the Chicago River, Fort Dearborn began to look more and more like a doomed mission.

By 1808 there was a real possibility that Fort Dearborn could be cut off from Fort Wayne entirely. Prophetstown, a multi-tribal community located near the junction of the Wabash and Tippecanoe Rivers, near the site of present day Lafayette, Indiana, was growing quickly, its residents numbering possibly one thousand at the time. Those residents, having fled or been forced out of their homes in the surrounding region, had rallied around the mystical revelations of Shawnee leader Tecumseh's brother Tenskwatawa, "The Prophet," who had called for unity among local Indian tribes as well as a return to traditional ways.[11] Prophetstown stood roughly halfway between the two forts. Illinois Territorial Governor Ninian Edwards saw the rise of Prophetstown as a direct threat to the ambitions of

the United States government for the region. Edwards charged Tenskwatawa with "taking a hostile attitude against us" and theorizing that "so long as we continue to permit it their confidence will increase, the seeds of discontent will be down far and wide, and they will be continually adding to their strength."[12] One has to ask the following question: Who thought building a small fort on the Chicago River would be a good idea? Were the men and women of Chicago to become "expendable assets?

Frontier raids in Indiana and Illinois in 1811, sponsored by the British Indian Department and carried out by Pottawatomie warriors, kept US settlers and officials on their toes and eventually became a political football. Government leaders in the Indiana and Illinois territories did not want to appear too "soft on crime," but at the same time these leaders sought to avoid military action against local tribes that might result in all-out border wars. Among the threats to US control of the region during this time, according to Secretary Eustis, was the Pottawatomie leader Wenebeset, more commonly known as Main Poc, an ally of Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, who actively worked to discourage US annexation and settlement of his homeland. Aided by British traders who supplied guns and ammunition, Main Poc led a series of raids from home bases that ranged from Peoria to the forks of the Kankakee and west along that river.[13] This British connection has prompted some to quip that the War of 1812 had already been raging in the Midwest for at least a year by the time Henry Clay's congressional "warhawks" pressured President James Madison into declaring war on Britain in June of 1812. Indeed, the western theater of the War, in which Fort Dearborn itself could be considered to have been the "sharp end of the stick," is only beginning to receive the attention it deserves in the

Detail of Hull's *Copy of map of the country from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River.*

historical record. Kentucky Senator Clay, aware that relationships between England and her former colonies had strained to the point where "war, as calamitous as it generally is, is inevitable," seems to have been totally unaware that there were US settlers at Chicago, only a few hundred miles northwest of his home in Lexington, who would be put even more in harm's way should an official declaration of war be made.[14]

The fate of Fort Dearborn might indeed have been sealed as early as 1805. Despite assurances of friendship, Hull, just settling in as Governor, knew that the Pottawatomie were dissatisfied about many things. Trying to please everybody, Hull moved the paying of government annuities to Chicago in 1805, but that angered some tribes further west. Hull then negotiated a land secession treaty in 1807 which was signed by some tribal leaders who didn't actually live on the land that was "treatied away," resulting in further hostile feelings. Secretary of War Eustis inadvisably announced in July of 1809 that he thought it was a good time to extinguish some Indian Land Titles east of the Wabash River. All of this made the spring of 1809, in R. David Edmunds's words, "a brief period of tranquility among the Pottawatomie villages."[15] It was likely during this lull on the frontier that General Hull scheduled the fact-finding mission which resulted in at least the Calumet portion of this map.

Hull probably took the same overland route that Lieutenant James Swearington had taken enroute to the Chicago River in 1803 when he and his men left Detroit to build Fort Dearborn. Once on the Lakeshore west of Michigan City it is likely that Hull met trader Alexander Robinson, who had been raising corn in the area to sell to the troops at Fort Dearborn. Perhaps Robinson was growing his corn in the gardens of the old French "Little Fort." No physical description or physical remains of that older fort have yet been found, but some local historians have surmised that it was made of vertical logs and was surrounded by a fence designed to keep the local deer population out of the garden and to keep the Fort's chicken and rabbits from wandering off. Hull's map and a couple other manuscript maps seem to indicate the approximate area where it was located; there is to this day a dune nearby known as "Fort Dune." An archeological dig may be in the National Park's future.

The text on the map tells us that "the mileage figures between rivers comes from the French navigating the waters." The main Mackinac trader active in the area during this time was Antoine Des Champ, who later turned over "the Illinois Brigade" to a young Gurdon S. Hubbard, formerly indentured to John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company, who had come to Chicago in 1818. On the left hand part of the map there are a few ominous phrases that end with the word "evacuated." An "Old white settlement – evacuated" appears on the north bank of the lake at Peoria, as well as a "Pottawatomie Village – evacuated" on the east bank of the Des Plaines. The Indian village east of Joliet on Hickory Creek is also described as evacuated. These and other details like the Pottawatomie village on the north bank of the Kankakee River suggest that this part of the map is from 1810-11, when the growing Indian alliance was meeting at Prophetstown and its population was swelling, leaving many surrounding villages empty. Main Poc visited Prophetstown in June and it was there that he outlined his master plan for attacking US Army posts. While other tribes would attack Detroit and Mackinac, Main Poc and his Pottawatomie warriors would demolish Fort Dearborn. Six months later the US Army burned Prophetstown to the ground. But the wheels of war were already turning. With hindsight this may have been the last time the garrison at Fort Dearborn could have safely retreated to Fort Wayne.

It is significant that Hull's map shows none of these important locales. It seems almost as if he was trying to avoid trouble by staying to the Lakeshore where there were only small hunting camps. He avoided Prophetstown, left out the location of Fort Wayne, and did not identify Main Poc's village. This is a significant omission since Main Poc's village shows up by name on many other maps from this period. Main Poc was seen as such a threat that he was invited to Washington by President Jefferson in the hope that the sight of the East Coast cities would create a significant enough impression to give him a sense of the futility of his agitation. Jefferson met with Main Poc in the White House and wished him good luck, happiness, and prosperity. However, accounts recall Jefferson's wishes were met with general recalcitrance. One wonders if General Hull may have also met with Main Poc during this trip.

The War of 1812 is only now getting the scholarship our nation's other wars received. It was, after all, a conflict that ended in a draw. When the Treaty of Ghent called a return to "status ante bellum," the only concession the US received was a twenty-mile wide strip of land between Lake Michigan and the head of navigation on the Illinois River. Outlined on the north and south by a pair of "Indian Boundary Lines" surveyed during the winter of 1818/19, this land eventually led to the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. One could say that the settlers at Fort Dearborn were sacrificed to achieve this land acquisition.[16] Just about the same time Hull was receiving the Presidential pardon that kept him from the firing squad by reluctantly recognizing his contributions during the Revolutionary War, the Army came back to Chicago to rebuild the Fort, and, finally, to bury their dead.

Hull's map, which Cahill found useful for its representation of Chicago's "other" waterways, was produced by an unstable command in an unstable region at an unstable time. Yet it was one of only very few of its kind, and it is no wonder Cahill found it useful, despite his acute and stated awareness of its shortcomings. The map remains one of the earliest sources we have on waterways of the Chicago region, and contains particularly rare information on those around Lake Calumet. Whether it comes to us via Cahill's engineering plan, Andreas's *History of Chicago*, or some other more recent source that found its information useful and worthy of republication, it holds in its backstory the weight of the times in which it was created, even as it offers a small window through which we might come to understand them better.

Paul Petraitis is the former director of the Ridge Historical Society and worked for many years at the Chicago Historical Society.

Notes

[1] Gardener Weld Allen, *The Isaac Hull Papers* (Boston: Boston Anthenaeum, 1929).
[2] Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York: Norton 1991) 95-96.
[3] Watson, Samuel J., "Detroit (1812)," *International Encyclopedia of Military History* vol. 1, ed. James C. Bradford (London: Routledge, 2006) 391. Watson here relies on Hull's own *Memoirs of the Campaign of the North Western Army in the Year 1812*, published in Boston by True & Greene in 1824, in which Hull did what he could to try to clear his good name.
[4] Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994) 24; D.J. Languth, *Union-1812* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006) 185.
[5] Donald R Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Champaign, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2012) 25; Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union*, 95-96; Steven Rauch, *The Campaign of 1812* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2013).
[6] Walter W. Ristow, "Alfred T. Andreas and His Minnesota Atlas". *Minnesota History* 40, no. 3 (1966): 120–129.
[7] Edward T. Cahill, *A Plea For The Improvement of the West Fork of the South Branch of the Chicago River* (Chicago: Printed by Barnard and Miller, 1911).
[8] Charles Cerami, *Jefferson's Great Gamble: The Remarkable Story of Jefferson, Napoleon and the Men behind the Louisiana Purchase* (Chicago: Sourcebooks, 2004).
[9] Richard Taylor Stevenson, *The Growth of the Nation, 1809 to 1837: From the Beginning of Madison's Administration to that of Van Buren: The History of North America* vol. 12 (Philadelphia: G. Barrie and Sons, 1905) 77.
[10] "Colks" or "colk formations" are perhaps best defined as "Restricted parts of river or glacier channels that have been deepened considerably below the average level of their valley floors." W.N. Benson and J.D. Raeside, "Tidal Colks in Australia and New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of Geology and Geophysics* 6 (August 1963): 364.
[11] David R. Edmunds, "American Indian Prophets: Religious Leaders and Revitalization Movements," *American Indian Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Summer 1985): 259-272; Alfred A. Cave, "The Shawnee Prophet, Tecumseh, and Tippecanoe: A Case Study of Historical Myth-Making," *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (Winter 2002); David R. Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1978); David R. Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).
[12] David Curtis Skaggs, *William Henry Harrison and the Conquest of the Ohio Country: Frontier Fighting in the War of 1812* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014) 69-70.
[13] William Franz, "'To Live By Depredations' Main Poc's Strategic Use of Violence," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 102 (2009): 238-247; David, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire.*
[14] Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union*, 77.
[15] David, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire*, 168.
[16] Ulrich Dancker, et al., *Early Chicago: A Compendium of the Early History of Chicago to the Year 1835 When the Indians Left* (Menomonee Falls, WI: Inland Press) 339.

Review: "Back to School" at the Boston Public Library

By Gerald Danzer

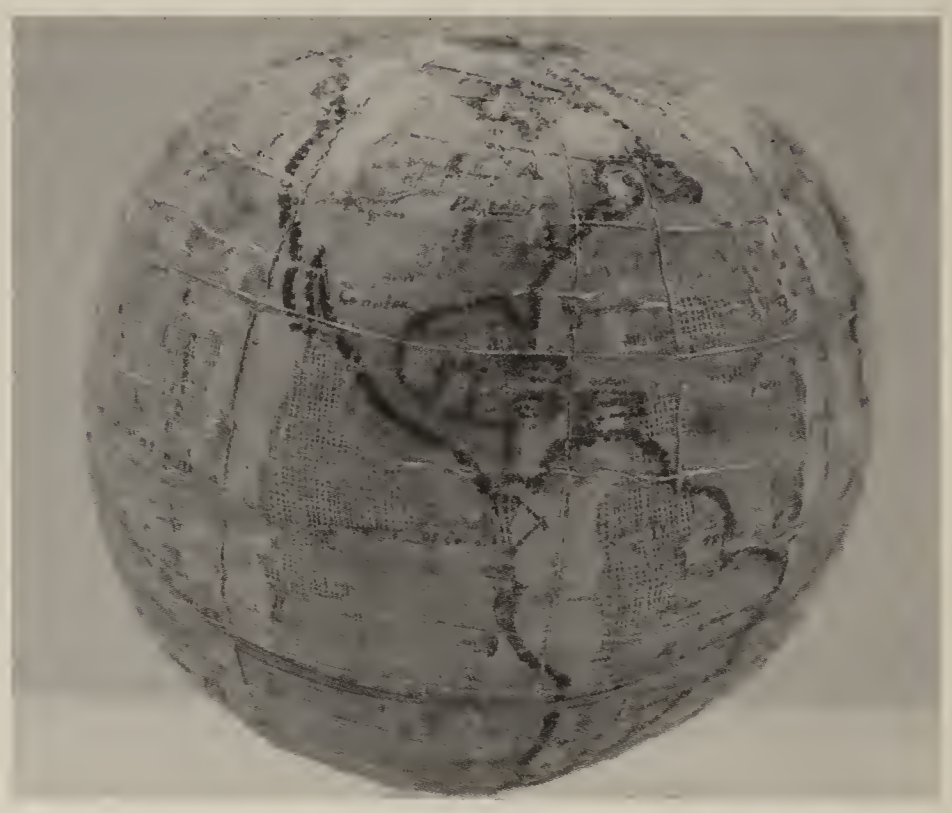
"Back to School: Geography in the Classroom" was a small but stimulating exhibit presented by the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center in the Boston Public Library. It focused on maps that were employed for educational purposes in America's schools. The display, which was on view from September 2014 through January 2015, started with a classroom celestial model manufactured by the Trippensee Planetarium Company of Detroit, Michigan about 1908. A simple device to show the movements of Venus, Earth, and the Moon relative to the sun and to each other, it immediately provoked questions, especially those generated by history's role in stimulating a conversation between the past and the present. Also, we do not know whether the "trip" before "seeing" in the company's name is a verb or a noun. Either one works. Both lead to reflection and then some curricular questions.

Does formal instruction in geography properly begin with the universe, especially earth-sun relationships? What are the comparative advantages of this mechanical device compared to our computers and digital images in introducing the basics of physical geography? As our knowledge of the cosmos has exploded over the last century, does an understanding of the transit of Venus still have a place in the curriculum?

As this visitor proceeded through the exhibition, a variety of artifacts competed for attention: maps, globes, textbooks, games, jigsaw puzzles, student projects, pictures of geography classes from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and even a special "ergonomic" Boston chair and school desk, (manufactured by Kenny Brothers and Walkin Company in 1905) set up with a student globe and instructional materials, ready for the class to begin.

Each item had its own part, but they followed common themes and sang in harmony. The rendition gave voice to a geography of facts and locations rather than an exploration of regions, movements, or human-environmental relationships. The student projects tended to display handicraft skills more than geographic understanding. And, among these, the most spectacular student projects displayed the sewing skills taught in schools for girls.

One of the most striking examples in this respect is an embroidered globe that was added to the library's collection just for this exhibit. It stands about five or six inches



Embroided globe made by a sutudent in the Westtown School in West Chester, Pennsylvania between 1804 - 1844. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

in diameter, made by a student in the Westtown School in West Chester, Pennsylvania some time between 1804 and 1844. During these four decades making such a globe apparently was a regular part of the curriculum at this Quaker boarding school for girls. Apparently the idea was then to use one's personal globe periodically in future geography lessons, hands-on learning in a literal sense.

In a presentation at the Newberry Library in 2006, Judieth Tyner pointed out how a woman's education in the early nineteenth century included "the use of the globe." Embroidered samplers featuring maps as tools of geographic education became a tradition in British schools beginning in the 1770s. This approach to instruction found its way to the United States, especially in Quaker schools for young women. Globes were expensive, and a classroom set for personalized use was out of the question. So, with homemade pincushions being an everyday item in their homes, why not have students make one in the shape of a globe? Sewing lessons are certainly rare in our schools today, as is the use of student desk-top globes. One fears that computers are also reducing the use of many three-dimensional objects such as globes.

But the Boston exhibit offers some redress to this tendency. It ends in the map reading room with tables against the wall lined with globes from their reference collection for visitors to explore and enjoy. Unfortunate-

ly, the pamphlet on "How to Use a Globe" that accompanied a catalog entitled *Joslin's Terrestrial and Celestial Globes* (Boston, 1885) was in the exhibit room locked in a glass case. The good news, however, is that suggestions accompanied the globes in the reference room and it was a delight on the day of my visit to see several families in conversation with their children, globes in hand.

What does it mean to take the world in hand? This question sent my train of thought off into several directions. If I were teaching a basic geography course, in how many lessons would a small globe in each student's hands be useful? In what ways? And then, what impact would the self-made aspect of the Westtown globes add to the process of learning? Are educators today overlooking some of the advantages of the old ways as they concentrate on computer-centered instruction?

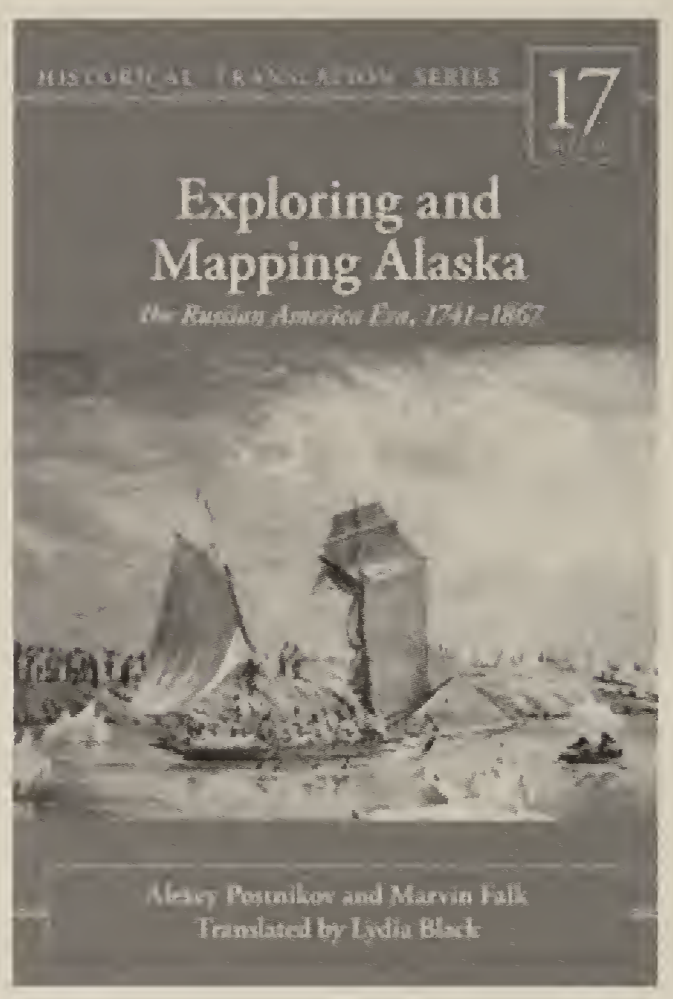
The content selected for exhibit, the images employed, and the creative approaches developed by educators in the past, each in their own ways, provided interesting windows to American culture. In addition various objects offered instructional hints here and there that retain value for today's educators. Most of all, they documented Jedediah Morse's conviction that "no science is better adapted to gratify the natural curiosity of youth than Geography." (*Elements of Geography*, 1795)

As various items in the exhibit attracted different visitors in various ways, one suspects that their "natural curiosity" led their thoughts down many pathways. In my own case, I found myself on my knees exploring a model of the Sunappe Mountains in central New Hampshire encased in a box about twenty inches square and three inches deep. The cover showed the US Geological Survey's fifteen-minute quadrangle that provided the blueprint for the model, and a set of instructions providing seven steps to turn the map into a three-dimensional object with a horizontal scale of one inch per mile and a vertical scale of one inch to 1800 feet. The actual model, fashioned by H. L. Michalson sometime after 1930, recalled a project developed by George Schroeter, the cartographer of the American Geographical Society, in the 1860s. Its publisher, Charles Scribner, described it as the "largest raised map ever published—24 square feet." It showed, "in exact mathematical proportion, the surface of the United States" and came in two versions: "with slated surface, price $15" and "with colored surface, $20." At a glance, the Scribner's advertising pointed out, the colored version "afforded a distinct, clear, and impressive picture of the great physical features of our country." But the slated surface gave pupils a chance to participate in the project, using "an ordinary slate pencil" to identify pertinent places and, we might add, routes, patterns, and examples of geography's major themes.

Geo. K. Snow and Bradlee, *Map of the White Mountains, N.H.: based on the best surverys* (Printed by Geo. K. Snow and Bradlee, 1872). Newberry Call Number G3742.Q52C18 1872 .G46.

A copy of Schroeter's *Raised Map of the United States* is very difficult to locate today, and I offer this example as a challenge to the next institution planning an exhibit on school maps. The Norman B. Leventhal Center has pointed the way in their pathbreaking exhibit. One hopes that collectors, curators, and scholars will follow their lead.

New Books



Exploring and Mapping Alaska: The Russian America Era. Alexey Postnikov and Marvin Falk, Translated by Lydia Black. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2015. Hardcover, 450 pp., 75 maps. $75.00 cloth

Alexey Postnikov of the Russian Academy of Sciences, a Fellow at the Smith Center in the 1990s, has teamed up with Marvin Falk of the University of Alaska to produce what surely must be the definitive account of the exploration and mapping of Alaska during the Russian Period, 1741-1867. Both authors were already known for their mastery of the cartography of the region, and they have now come up with a superbly illustrated and remarkably readable account of this neglected development in the expansion of Tsarist Russia.

Unlike many of our Fellows, Alexey Postnikov trained as a cartographer, qualifying from the Moscow Institute of Engineers in 1965, in the faculty of Air Surveying and Cartography. He then spent some years in practical surveying, both at sea on the Bataysk and on land in the mountainous country in the southwest of the Soviet Union. His published work is notable for its emphasis on the importance of Indigenous work to Russian cartography. Among his many publications is a provisional checklist of the Newberry Library's Karpinski Collection of photostats, which he undertook as a Fellow. Today he works as chief researcher in Moscow's Institute for the History of Science and Technology.

David Buisseret, The Newberry Library

Mapping The Cold War: Cartography and the Framing of America's International Power. Timothy Barney. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015. 227 pp. $23.44 paper.

Timothy Barney's work is groundbreaking in that it is the first attempt to provide a truly substantive history of Cold War cartography. Cautious of being bogged down by excessive detail, Barney covers the major themes and developments in Cold War cartography in five chapters, while also showing his aptness as a writer by rooting abstract ideas within the context of concrete actors and events. For Barney, "cartography is not a by-product of Cold War history, it is Cold War history" (p. 24). Maps from the Cold War era had profound influence on the manner in which Americans, and even the Soviets, understood their place and role in the world.

Maps created during this time were designed to persuade the audience of a specific viewpoint. For example, Barney writes on a map by Richard Edes Harrison titled "Europe from the East" to demonstrate the types of messages Cold War cartography sought to present. Created in 1944, this topographical map was designed to present a perspective which made the American viewer feel uneasy, contending with the idea that the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union was contentious at best. Centered on Poland, with Spain at the top, Eastern Europe seems to almost naturally flow from Moscow, and the region appears ripe for Soviet expansion.

In the broadest sense, Barney challenges the reader to not only learn from what cartography can tell us about the Cold War, but to take those lessons and continuously apply them in the ongoing process of envisioning and mapping our place in the current world.

Jarrett Dunning, The University of Chicago

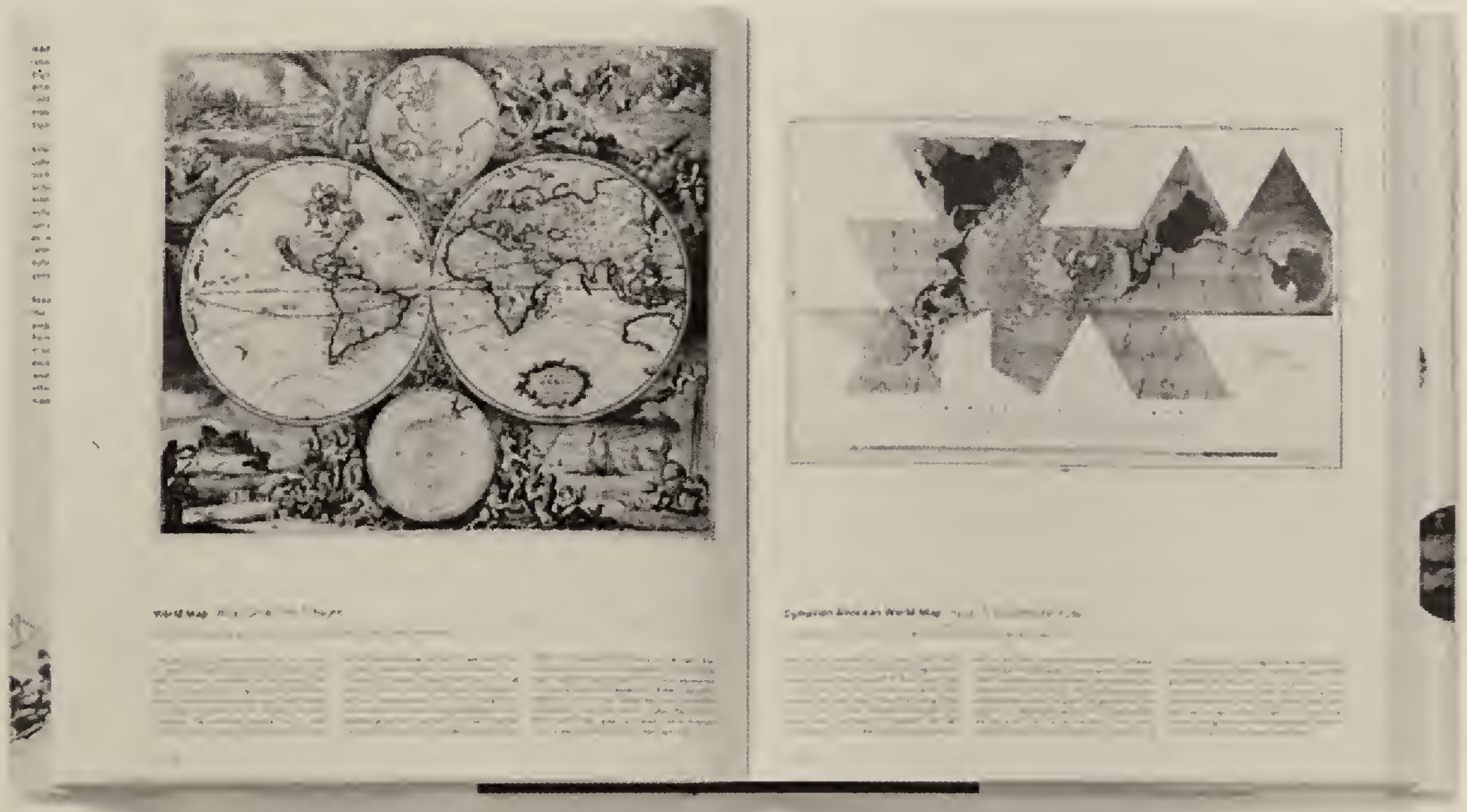
Map: Exploring the World. London: Phaidon Press, 2015. 352 pp. Hardcover, 26 x 30 cm. $59.95 cloth.

Phaidon, the London publisher of many well-designed and aesthetically pleasing art books, has made its entry into the world of map book publishing. And what an entry it is! *Map: Exploring the World* is the most recent of a series of grand tomes on aesthetically significant material, beginning with the bestselling *The Art Book.* This thick book offers excellent quality full-color reproductions of three hundred maps spanning five thousand years of human history. No part of the globe has been neglected, and great effort has been made to show as many visual styles as can possibly be included in a book that can still fit into a handbag. It also includes a particularly helpful illustrated timeline, as well as some short biographical notes. A brief introduction to "Assembling the World in an Image," by John Hessler of the United States Library of Congress, explains the form this vast book takes.

Unlike many books of similar size and scope, it is not arranged regionally or chronologically. This is intentional, and it works. Freeing the maps from being circumscribed into a progressive narrative, it allows them to be considered on other terms. "Map" is defined broadly: sea charts, mappamundi, city plans, weather maps, and topographic quadrangles face pages of clay tablets, satellite photos, star charts, battle lines, and contemporary art installations. Each selection is helped along by an accompanying explanation of about three hundred words, many of which have been contributed, incidentally, by past Newberry Fellows, including Patricia Seed, Susan Schulten, Ruth Watson, Carla Lois, Dennis Reinhartz, the Smith Center's former director David Buisseret, and current assistant director Peter Nekola.

If there is indeed a larger narrative in this volume, it is a suggestion to consider maps not only in their assumed places within conventional historical or cultural accounts, but also, or even alternatively, in terms of visual strategy. *Map: Exploring the World* presents "map" as an idea, as a reasoning process, as a process of observation, and as a negotiation not only of the earth's observable or calculable surface conditions, but of phenomena, earthly, celestially, and conceptually, that can be understood better through illustrative spatial representation. Whether or not one entertains this broad and embracing consideration (or reconsideration) of the very idea of "map," the beauty of this fine publication should not go unappreciated.

Peter Nekola, The Newberry Library



Smith Center News

Staff Notes

In July 2015, the Smith Center welcomed two new part-time program assistants. Jarrett Dunning, a graduate of Emory and Henry College, joined the Center as a contributing editor to the Burnham and Mapping Movement projects. He will depart his position at the end of the year to devote time to his PhD studies at the University of Chicago. We are grateful to him for his keen eye, and wish him well in his future endeavors.

Andrew Epps came to the Newberry after earning a degree in history from Beloit College. At the Newberry, he supports the administrative work of both the Smith Center and Center for Renaissance Studies, and has taken on the copyediting of this publication.

Cartography Fellows

Two short-term fellows recently visited the Newberry. Quentin Morcrette, a doctoral student at Université Lumière-Lyon II, was conducting a comparative study of maps of itinerary in the United States and France from October 6 to November 4. Jorge Macle Cruz, curator of maps at the National Archives of the Republic of Cuba, was conducting bibliographic research in various currents of cartographic thought and their influence on Cuban cartography. He was at the Newberry from October 26 to November 25.

Briefly Noted

Conferences and Symposia

From April 29 to May 1, 2016, **"Mythical Place/ Legendary Spaces,"** the 12th annual conference of the International Association for the Study of the Environment, Space, and Place will be held at Southern Connecticut State University. Papers proposals are welcome from any discipline that explores aspects of mythical or legendary places/spaces. Proposals on the history of cartography are especially encouraged. The deadline for submissions is February 8, 2016. Send proposals to Troy Paddock at paddockt1@southernct.edu. The organization's journal, *Environment, Space, Place*, reviews submissions on a rolling basis.

"Periculum maris spes lucre superat: Fisheries, Trade, Defense and the North Atlantic World," the 42nd Conference of the North American Society for Oceanic History, organized jointly with the North Atlantic Fisheries History Association and the Society for the History of Naval Medicine, will be held from May 11-15, 2016 in Portland, Maine. Paper or session proposals exploring the breadth of maritime connections, cultural landscapes, and their interconnections will be accepted through February 1, 2016. Travel grants are available to presenting graduate students. More information about the conference and submission guidelines is available at www.kellykathleenchave.wix.com/nasoh.

The International Cartographic Association (ICA) Commission on the History of Cartography, along with the ICA Commissions on Map Production and Geoinformation Management and on Use, User, and Usability Issues, and the Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar" in Zagreb invite the submission of papers and posters for the 6th International Symposium, **"The Dissemination of Cartographic Knowledge: Production, Trade, Consumption, and Preservation,"** to be held on October 13 and 14, 2016 in Dubrovnik, Croatia. Topics relating to the technical or conceptual dissemination of cartographic knowledge, changing conditions of the map trade, or the role of diverse audiences in producing and consuming cartographic knowledge are strongly encouraged, though quality submissions in other fields will also be considered. The organizers plan to publish all accepted papers. The deadline for submission sis February 15, 2016. The symposium, and optional subsequent two-day excursion, is open to everyone with an interest in maps. For more information visit www.histacartodubrovnik2016.com.

The Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography was founded in 1972 to advance knowledge of the history of cartography and to promote the use of the Newberry's cartographic collections. Among the many programs it sponsors to achieve these goals are institutes and seminars, conferences, research fellowships, exhibitions, workshops for educators and public historians, public lecture series, and a variety of print and electronic publications.

Director: James R. Akerman
Assistant Director: Peter Nekola
Program Assistants: Andrew Epps
Jarrett P. Dunning

Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the

Nebenzahl Lectures

Maps, Their Collecting and Study: A Fifty Year Retrospective

in collaboration with the

International Symposium of IMCoS

The Thirty-Fourth International Symposium of the International Map Collectors Society

October 24-26, 2016

The Nineteenth Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography

October 27-29, 2016

You are invited to Chicago in October 2016 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the **Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography**, to be held in conjunction with the annual **International Symposium of IMCoS**, the only international organization for map collectors. The nineteenth series of the lectures returns to its first theme: the relationship between map collecting and the historical study of cartography. The week will conclude with a global gathering of antiquarian map dealers at the fourth **Chicago International Map Fair**.

The Nebenzahl Lectures are free and open to the public, but registration is required. A registration fee is required to attend the IMCoS Symposium. Registration information and a schedule of events is availible online.

www.newberry.org/50th-anniversary-nebenzahl-lectures

Inquiries may be directed to:

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Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library

THE NEWBERRY

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Mapline is the official publication of the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library. Since 1976, it has been devoted to advancing knowledge of the history of cartography by reporting events, ideas, and issues in the field. In addition to printing short articles reflecting current research, it functions as a bulletin to announce recent acquisitions to the cartographic collections at the Newberry and keeps readers informed of the Center's work, publications, and sponsored events. It also contains brief reports on conferences, exhibitions, societies, and lectures beyond the Newberry.

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Mapping, Text, and Travel

A NEH Summer Institute for College and University Faculty

July 11 - August 12, 2016

Co-Directors
James Akerman, Director, Hermon Dunlap Smith Center, The Newberry Library
Jordana Dym, Professor of History, Skidmore College

The Newberry Library's Hermon Dunlap Smith Center is pleased to announce its 2016 NEH summer institute, "Mapping, Text, and Travel." The five-week NEH Seminar will examine the complex relationship between text, mapping, and travel from the emergence of the modern world to the dawn of the digital age, focusing on the genre of travel mapping within the wider context of the history of cartography and travel publication.

www.newberry.org/mapping-text-and-travel